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dured, especially during the present war, ought to conciliate the sympathies of nations.

Such are the principal bases whereon we believe the future reorganization of the peoples ought to be built. They are of a nature to render impossible the return of similar conflicts and to prepare a solution of the economic question so important for the future and for the material well-being of all belligerent states.

Therefore, in presenting to you, who direct at this hour the destinies of the belligerent nations, these proposals, we are eager to see them accepted and to see thus the conclusion at an early date of the terrible struggle, which more and more appears a useless massacre.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S REPLY TO THE POPE

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 27, 1917.

To His Holiness Benedictus XV, Pope:

In acknowledgment of the communication of your Holiness to the belligerent peoples, dated August 1, 1917, the President of the United States requests me to transmit the following reply:

Every heart that has not been blinded and hardened by this terrible war must be touched by this moving appeal of his Holiness the Pope, must feel the dignity and force of the humane and generous motives which prompted it, and must fervently wish that we might take the path of peace he so persuasively points out. But it would be folly to take it if it does not in fact lead to the goal he proposes. Our response must be based upon the stern facts, and upon nothing else. It is not a mere cessation of arms he desires; it is a stable and enduring peace. This agony must not be gone through with again, and it must be a matter of very sober judgment what will insure us against it.

His Holiness in substance proposes that we return to the *status quo ante-bellum* and that then there be a general condonation, disarmament, and a concert of nations based upon an acceptance of the principle of arbitration; that by a similar concert freedom of the seas be established; and that the territorial claims of France and Italy, the perplexing problems of the Balkan States, and the restitution of Poland be left to such conciliatory adjustments as may be possible in the new temper of such a peace, due regard being paid to the aspirations of the peoples whose political fortunes and affiliations will be involved.

It is manifest that no part of this program can be successfully carried out unless the restitution of the *status quo ante* furnishes a firm and satisfactory basis for it. The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment, controlled by an irresponsible Government, which, having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international action and honor; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier,

either of law or of mercy; swept a whole continent within the tide of blood—not the blood of soldiers only, but the blood of innocent women and children also and of the helpless poor; and now stands balked, but not defeated, the enemy of four-fifths of the world.

This power is not the German people. It is the ruthless master of the German people. It is no business of ours how that great people came under its control or submitted with temporary zest to the domination of its purpose; but it is our business to see to it that the history of the rest of the world is no longer left to its handling.

To deal with such a power by way of peace upon the plan proposed by his Holiness the Pope would, so far as we can see, involve a recuperation of its strength and a renewal of its policy; would make it necessary to create a permanent hostile combination of nations against the German people, who are its instruments; and would result in abandoning the new-born Russia to the intrigue, the manifold subtle interference, and the certain counter-revolution which would be attempted by all the malign influences to which the German Government has of late accustomed the world.

Can peace be based upon a restitution of its power or upon any word of honor it could pledge in a treaty of settlement and accommodation?

Responsible statesmen must now everywhere see, if they never saw before, that no peace can rest securely upon political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and cripple or embarrass others, upon vindictive action of any sort, or any kind of revenge or deliberate injury. The American people have suffered intolerable wrongs at the hands of the Imperial German Government, but they desire no reprisal upon the German people, who have themselves suffered all things in this war, which they did not choose. They believe that peace should rest upon the rights of peoples, not the rights of Governments—the rights of peoples, great or small, weak or powerful—their equal right to freedom and security and self-government and to a participation upon fair terms in the economic opportunities of the world, the German people, of course, included, if they will accept equality and not seek domination.

The test, therefore, of every plan of peace is this: Is it based upon the faith of all the peoples involved, or merely upon the word of an ambitious and intriguing Government, on the one hand, and of a group of free peoples, on the other? This is a test which goes to the root of the matter; and it is the test which must be applied.

The purposes of the United States in this war are known to the whole world—to every people to whom the truth has been permitted to come. They do not need to be stated again. We seek no material advantage of any kind. We believe that the intolerable wrongs done in this war by the furious and brutal power of the Imperial German Government ought to be repaired, but not at the expense of the sovereignty of any people—rather a vindication of the sovereignty both of those that are weak and of those that are strong. Punitive damages, the dismemberment of empires, the establishment of selfish and exclusive economic leagues, we deem inexpedient, and in the end worse than futile, no proper

basis for a peace of any kind, least of all for an enduring peace. That must be based upon justice and fairness and the common rights of mankind.

We cannot take the word of the present rulers of Germany as a guarantee of anything that is to endure unless explicitly supported by such conclusive evidence of the will and purpose of the German people themselves as the other peoples of the world would be justified in accepting. Without such guarantees treaties of settlement, agreements for disarmament, covenants to set up arbitration in the place of force, territorial adjustments, reconstitutions of small nations, if made with the German Government, no man, no nation, could now depend on.

We must await some new evidence of the purposes of the great peoples of the Central Powers. God grant it may be given soon and in a way to restore the confidence of all peoples everywhere in the faith of nations and the possibility of a covenanted peace.

ROBERT LANSING,
*Secretary of State of the
United States of America.*

"CUMBER AND ENTANGLEMENTS"

Limited Ideal; Lure of the Larger Ideal;
Hope and the Great Strategy

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL *

WILLIAM PENN, whose name is far from unfamiliar to lovers of American history, tells among many things in his "Journal Written While Visiting Holland and Germany in 1677" of a visit which he and his party made to the court of the well-known and spiritually-minded German Princess Elizabeth and her friend, a countess, both of Herford in what was then known as Palatine of the Rhine, now Westphalia, and both known to be kindly disposed toward the Friends.

"As we went to the door," he writes, "the Countess stepped before us and opened it for us, and as I passed out she looked upon me with a weighty countenance, and fetched a deep sigh, crying out, 'Oh, the cumber and entanglements of this vain world! They hinder all good.' Upon which I replied, looking her steadfastly in the face, 'Oh, come thou out of them, then!'" This command was subsequently, we have evidence for believing, completely and beautifully obeyed.

It is to the words "cumber and entanglements" that one's attention is first attracted in this passage. For the outstanding fact of this, our present world situation seems to be that we are all hindered immeasurably by the "cumber and entanglements of this vain world."

You have graciously asked me to speak to you Friends gathered at this beautiful Guilford College in this your two-hundred-twentieth North Carolina Yearly Meeting. I have accepted your kind invitation primarily because, in the midst of the "cumber and entanglements" of this distressing time, I feel more profoundly than words can express the deep need of counsel in matters of the spirit, and of a baptism in the fine faiths and long-treasured hopes of men and women such as Friends

have always been known to be. I may add, what I firmly believe to be the truth, that the Friends never faced a greater opportunity or a more glorious privilege than they do today.

In the presentation of my theme this afternoon may I ask you to let me speak of three things closest to my thought and feeling, matters which may be called, first, the tragedy of our limited ideal; second, the lure of a larger ideal; third, our hope and the great strategy.

I.

Tragedy of Our Limited Ideal.

The great tragedy of today is that twenty-eight nations are lined up in battle array. Of the twenty-eight nations, seventeen are actually at war. An additionally depressing fact is that all of the twenty-eight nations call themselves both civilized and religious. The picture of the last three years is not altogether inspiring for one who believes either in religion or in the organized processes of law and order. One year of Germany overrunning Belgium and northeastern France, herself then stopped at the Marne, threatened in Galicia and East Prussia, then losing all of her colonies except one in German East Africa, and finally slightly encouraged by English failures at Gallipoli and in Mesopotamia—that is the year 1914-1915 of this war. A second year, and the Central Powers expelled Russia from Poland and from portions of the Baltic provinces and from Galicia, while Serbia and Montenegro were totally overrun. The heroic stand of France at Verdun is the one bright spot for the Allies during that second year. Still another year presents a Russian Revolution, the retreat of Germany on the West, the renewal of ruthless submarine activities, and the entrance of America into the war. "Cumber and entanglements" enough, it will be agreed.

And the world witnesses all this in spite of the fact that no one wants war. The nations have each and all declared themselves fighting, not that they want war, but that the world may have a permanent international peace. When President Wilson wrote, in December, 1916, suggesting an expression of terms from the nations at war, the Entente reply of January 10, 1917, said: "That which they desire above all is to insure a peace upon the principles of liberty and justice." President Wilson, in his address before the joint session of the two Houses of Congress on April 2, 1917, appealed to the conscience of the world. The one sentence most quoted from that address is: "The world must be made safe for democracy." But there are other phrases and sentences in the address not less striking and encouraging. "We desire no conquest, no dominion," he said. Referring to his previous addresses, one before the Senate on the 22d of January, 1917, one to the Congress February 3, and again to the Congress February 26, Mr. Wilson said further on that day in April that he still had exactly the same things in mind. His words were: "Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power, and to set up among the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles." Again he said: "We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility

* An address delivered before the 220th North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, Guilford College, N. C., August 8, 1917.